[Class C Families]

Patão, however, regales the daily gossip groups with his exploits, detail by detail, so it is always known who has visited him. These men are in no way ostracized, and continue a normal life alongside the others. There are also two cases of men connected with candomblé who are suspected of homosexual tendencies, but there are no definite data about them. Public opinion, nevertheless, is generally against homosexuality, and there was one case in which action was taken. A married man "pegou um menino" (caught a little boy) in the men's bath at one of the wells. Ordinarily the men enter the bath alone, the others waiting outside until the one inside has finished. On this occasion the man found the boy already there and entered with him. Later the boy told what had happened and the neighborhood was incensed and compelled the man to leave town at least temporarily. The boy's only remark was that he had not been paid!

Boys in their late teens sometimes jokingly refer to the clube de veados (homosexuals' club), intimating their exploratory experiences with one another, and what they have tried when they went together to Salvador or Centro, where, according to them, the streets are full of veados. No such reports were found for the rural people, but the complaint that young men were viciados nas mulas (corrupted by the use of mules) was common. Another case at a distant factory concerned two women who were living together, one very strong, large and bearded, and very jealous of anyone who even looked at the other. This case was well known, and considered hilarious by the neighbors.

Family life in Class C is characterized by a lack of privacy. The house of a family in this class has at the most two bedrooms, frequently only one, in which all members must sleep. It is common for a young couple to have only one bed when their marriage begins, in which they, as well as their first and second children, sleep. The use of a cradle for infants is rare. The baby usually sleeps with the parents, and as it grows older, or as new babies are born, it is relegated to the foot of the bed. Loud and bitter are the complaints about children who wet the bed, which many of them do for many years. Most mothers say they try to wake up several times during the night in order to hold the infant over the side of the bed to allow it to perform its natural functions, which makes life more pleasant for the others in the bed. In the morning the floor is thoroughly washed.

During the day young boys go about with only shorts on, or

[Class C Families]

*565 291 During the day young boys go about with only shorts on, or with both shirt and shorts, depending upon the weather. Girls always wear a dress. Children who are in the crawling stage *565 515 become extremely dirty because of the amount of dirt tracked into the house from the streets, although this is now changing 854 as a result of paving. Babies, however, seem to have a propensity for getting into the charcoal sack, usually kept near the kitchen stove, and emerging well blackened. They are bathed twice daily, morning and afternoon, at first in cold water to accustom them to the cold water they will be using for [853] the rest of their lives. Bathing the child is usually considered a pleasure for the mother as well as the baby, as is breast *565 feeding. If the child of light-skinned parents exhibits the genipapo 143 (a bluish spot near the base of the spine, sometimes [826] known as the "Mongolian blue spot") the mothers will take care not to let visitors see it, as the spot is thought to be a strong indication of the nearness of Negro ancestry. It disappears after the child is seven or eight months old.

*565 515 The men and older boys of Class C take their daily baths in the afternoon, either at one of the two wells which are behind the convent and therefore out of sight of the town, or at wooden structures which have been built across the wells in the Cortume. They stand on a wooden floor and drop a small bucket on a string down into the water, which is hoisted up and poured over them, running back into the well with the soap suds and whatever grime has come off their skin. Frequently a woman when getting water will undress her son on the spot and pour buckets of water over him. This is not done after a boy has reached five years or six, however, and is never done to a girl of any age. The women and girls take a daily sponge bath in their kitchens late in the afternoon, before *565 starting to fix the evening meal. None of the houses has toi- 514 let facilities other than a secluded place in the back yard. [124] During a survey of housing facilities in the town, when the question was asked, "Do you have a toilet?" the answer was usually laughingly given, "What for?" (But practically every- *565 one knows what a toilet is, and there are several different 291 types in the town, belonging to upper-class houses. The con- [515] struction of a flush type, with an adequate cesspool, has been known for many years.) After the daily bath most people put on clean clothes in which they often sleep, although sleeping [513] garments range from daytime clothing to long nightgowns, shorts, or nothing at all. Daytime clothing for the men consists of little more than trousers, shirt, and wooden shoes

(tamancos), or perhaps leather shoes. Women wear a dress and a slip and are usually barefoot. Dress-up occasions also call for undergarments, stockings, and shoes. Great modesty is always shown about exposing oneself in front of others. Few of the men shave themselves, going to the barber for this as well as for haircuts. There are several women who are experts at hair straightening, which they do with a flat-iron, although most women and girls in this class who have the problem of straightening their hair know how to do it themselves.

In Class C as well as in Class B the father is the dominant person. He rules the household. He is the one who is served at meals, whose clothing is always clean and pressed, and who goes out the most. He spends much of his leisure time in one of the several stores, talking and taking an occasional drink of rum; or on one of the few shaded corners playing dominoes with his friends; or else in the bar playing billiards and gossiping. As a rule he goes to the movies alone, or at least without his family, although in the higher echelons of the class families often go to the movies and to church together. There is one family which is musically inclined, and which often spends evenings at home together, making up a small orchestra. If there is a samba in someone's house, many men from this class will be there watching, while the participants are usually single women and girls from the same class. The men will discuss a woman's physical attributes while she is in the center of the ring dancing. This is one of the most common ways in which a girl gets "looked over" and is watched as she develops. Sooner or later some man will fall in love with her (apaixonar-se dela), and if she is not well guarded by her family he will eventually have an affair with her. In the case of fishermen, most of the time is taken up either by fishing or by caring for equipment, for the nets need a good deal of attention. Since the fishermen's hours follow the tides, their working hours differ from day to day. They often go to bed early, in anticipation of getting up at three or four in the morning.

The women, on the other hand, follow a more regular daily routine of getting the morning coffee ready, getting the children off to school, going for water and wood, doing the ever-present laundry and ironing, and caring for the younger children. In addition, if possible, they prepare xangó to help supplement the family income and go to the fair in Centro on Mon-

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help me get better, they took me up off the ground.[41] Then my mother called in Mamêdê [the local *pae de santo*], to see what was the matter with me. He came, *abriu a mesa*[42] and said that this had been with me from my birth. My mother then asked him if he could cure it. He said he could. He made her buy plates, *moringues*,[43] beads, cups, coconuts, etc. Then he prepared all that.[44] They washed my head with water from the sacred leaves. My mother asked if he could take that thing away so that it would not come back again. He said he would not dare to do that, or I would die. He said it always came back.

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When it returned, they washed my head again. I did not know what was going on. It was as if I had slept. When I awakened, I was all "prepared": dressed *de creola* with a *saia grande* and a *torso* on my head. Everything red. *Sandalias* too. Everything the same color.

When this happened I was still small. The *pae de santo* said that I was under a spell [*era encanto*]. He "did the work" once more, and I was all right again. But when I was seven years old, it took hold of me once more. My mother was afraid and begged the *pae de santo* to do something about it. She pleaded so earnestly that finally he said he would speak with the enchantment [*encanto*] so that it would not come down any more.

It didn't come back until I was fifteen years old. Then they arranged another dress *de creola*, and also handkerchiefs, strings of beads, bracelets, and *sandalias*. They ordered plates, small glasses, and *quartinhas* bought. When all this was ready, the *pae de santo* washed my head in sacred water. He said it was the "owner of my head" [*dono da minha cabeça*] who had done that to me. There in Cachoeira, across the river from São Felix,[45] is the *casa de Gêge*.[46] The *pae de santo* is the grandson of an African.

[513] [285] [415] [361] [794]

[41] That is, she was removed from the reed mat which, placed directly upon the floor of a hut, is extensively used among the poorer families for sleeping purposes.

[42] That is, he set up certain means of divination.

[43] Water pots made of red clay.

[44] That is, he submitted it to the proper ritual.

[45] Cachoeira and São Felix are twin cities, separated by the Paraguassú River, located across the Bay to the north of the city of Bahia.

[46] The *candomblé* of the Gêge cult in which she had now been inducted.

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I stayed only seven days in the *casa*,[15] because my head was washed. Others spend three months there, lying down all the time. They lie awhile on one side, then on the other, and then face down. One takes a bath in water perfumed with sacred leaves. Every day. The bath is cold, very cold. You must change your clothes and the bed linen every day. It isn't in a real bed that one lies down. They put a mat on the floor, and you have only a pillow and a sheet. You can move, but only from one side to the other, never over on your back. During the time you are in the *camarinha*, you cannot see your relatives. You may see them only on the day you leave. But then you must go at four in the morning and return at four in the evening so that the dew will not fall on your head.

• [513]

There may be others in the *camarinha*. Sometimes many others. All of them stay in the same room. They sleep with their heads together. If there are ten, there will be space for all ten. While they are in the *camarinha*, they do not attend ceremonies.

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I did not go through all this because my head did not have to be shaved. I had my *orixá* from birth. When I came into this world, he already knew everything.[16] My *pae de santo* has "worked" with many people. Last week he was here in Fazenda Grande.

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When my *orixá* took possession of me, I quit eating he-goat. Because of the taboo of the *orixá* one cannot eat certain things. During all my life I cannot eat he-goat, because of the taboo. Neither can I eat turtle. For he who is of Xangô does not eat either he-goat or turtle. He who is of Ogum must not eat sheep's meat. Some *filhas* must not eat fruit; others must not eat fish *de couro*, only those fish which have scales. Crabs cannot be eaten by some, nor the leaf of Ogum. Water may be drunk, but only that which is drawn at 4:00 A.M., before the sun rises.

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White maize must be eaten by some, depending on the *orixá*. For every *orixá* of every nation[17] has his own food. There is the food of Odé. There is that of Xangô, which is mutton.

[15] The period during which the candidate is initiated into her new function is spent within the sacred room, or *camarinha*, of the *candomblé* center.

[16] That is, he "knew" that she would be consecrated to him.

[17] That is, of each type of *candomblé*: Gêge-Nagô, Congo, Angolo, *de caboclo*.